

**Source: The Histories of Polybius V2 by Polybius □  
(translated by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh 1889)**

BOOK XXIV

1. THE ambassadors from the Spartan exiles and from the Achaeans arrived in Rome simultaneously with those of Eumenes, king Ariarathes, and Pharnaces; and the Senate attended to these latter first. A short time previously a report had been made to the Senate by Marcus,<sup>1</sup> who had been despatched on a mission respecting the war that had broken out between Eumenes and Pharnaces, speaking highly of the moderation of Eumenes in every particular, and the grasping temper and insolence of Pharnaces. The Senate accordingly did not require any lengthened arguments; but, after listening to the ambassadors, answered that they would once more send legates to examine more minutely into the points in dispute between the kings. Then came in the ambassadors from the Lacedaemonian exiles, and with them the ambassadors from the citizens actually in the city; and after giving them a long hearing, the Senate expressed no disapproval of what had been done, but promised the exiles to write to the Achaeans on the subject of their restoration to their country. Some days afterwards, Bippus of Argos and his colleagues, sent by the Achaeans, entered the Senate with a statement as to the restoration of order in Messene; and the Senate, without showing displeasure at any part of the arrangement, gave the ambassadors a cordial reception. . . .

<sup>1</sup> The mission to Eumenes and Pharnaces has been already mentioned in bk. 23, ch. 9, but the name of the ambassador was not given; nor is it mentioned by Livy (40, 20), who records the mission. It is uncertain who is meant by Marcus, some editors have altered it to Marcius, *i.e.* Q. Marcius Philippus, who had been sent to Macedonia, imagining him to have fulfilled both missions.

2. When the ambassadors of the Spartan exiles arrived in the Peloponnese from Rome with a letter from the Senate to the Achaeans, desiring that measures should be taken for their recall and restoration to their country, the Achaeans resolved to postpone the consideration of the question until their own ambassadors should return. After making this answer, they caused the agreement between themselves and the Messenians to be engraved on a tablet: granting them, among other favours, a three years' remission of taxes, in order that the damage done to their territory should fall upon the Achaeans equally with the Messenians. But when Bippus and his colleagues arrived from Rome, and reported that the letter in regard to the exiles was not due to any strong feeling on the part of the Senate, but to the importunity of the exiles themselves, the Achaeans voted to make no change. . . .

Terms granted  
to the  
Messenians

The request of  
the Spartan  
exiles refused.

3. Mount Haemus is close to the Pontus, the most extensive and loftiest of the ranges in Thrace, which it divides into two nearly equal parts, from which a view of both seas may be obtained. . . .<sup>1</sup>

M. Haemus.  
Livy, 46, 21.

4. In Crete there was the beginning of great troubles set in motion, if one should speak of "a beginning of troubles" in Crete: for owing to the persistency of civil wars and the acts of savagery practised against each other, beginning and end are much the same in Crete; and what appears to some people to be an incredible story is a spectacle of everyday occurrence there. . . .

Crete in  
B.C. 182. See  
bk. 22, ch. 19.

5. Having come to terms with each other, Pharnaces, Attalus, and the rest returned home. While this was going on, Eumenes had recovered from his illness, and was staying at Pergamus; and when his brother arrived to announce the arrangements that had been made, he approved of what had been done, and resolved to send

End of the war  
between Eumenes  
and Pharnaces,  
which the former  
had undertaken  
to support his  
father-in-law  
Ariarathes. See

<sup>1</sup> From Strabo (vii. 5, 13), who adds: "But this is not true, for the distance from the Adriatic is immense, and there are many obstacles in the way to obscure the view."

Livy, 38, 39, his brothers to Rome : partly because he hoped  
 B.C. 182-181. to put an end to the war with Pharnaces by  
 means of their mission, and partly because he wished to intro-  
 duce his brothers to his own private friends at Rome, and  
 officially to the Senate. Attalus and his brother were eager  
 for this tour ; and when they arrived in Rome the young men  
 met with a cordial reception from everybody in private society,  
 owing to the intimacies which they had formed during the  
 Roman wars in Asia, and a still more honourable welcome  
 from the Senate, which made liberal provision for their enter-  
 tainment and maintenance, and treated them with marked  
 respect in such conferences as it had with them. Thus,  
 when the young men came formally before the Senate, and,  
 after speaking at considerable length of the renewal of their  
 ancient ties of friendship with Rome and inveighing against  
 Pharnaces, begged the Senate to adopt some active measures  
 to inflict on him the punishment he deserved, the Senate gave  
 them a favourable hearing, and promised in reply to send  
 legates to use every possible means of putting an end to  
 the war. . . .

6. About the same time king Ptolemy, wishing to make  
 friends with the Achæan league, sent an amb-  
 Ptolemy  
 Epiphanes sends a present to  
 the Achæans.  
 Lycortas,  
 Polybius, and  
 Aratus sent to  
 return thanks,  
 B.C. 181.  
 bassador to them with an offer of a fleet of ten  
 penteconters fully equipped ; and the Achæans,  
 thinking the present worthy of their thanks, for  
 the cost could not be much less than ten talents,  
 gladly accepted the offer. Having come to this  
 resolution, they selected Lycortas, Polybius, and  
 Aratus, son of Aratus of Sicyon, to go on a  
 mission to the king, partly to thank him for the arms which  
 he had sent on a former occasion, and partly to  
 receive the ships and make arrangements for  
 bringing them across. They appointed Lycortas, because, as  
 Strategus at the time that Ptolemy renewed the alliance, he  
 had worked energetically on the king's side ; and Polybius,  
 though below the legal age for acting as ambassador,<sup>1</sup> because  
 his father has been ambassador at the renewal of the alliance

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps thirty, which seems to have been the legal age for admission to  
 political functions. See 29, 24.

with Ptolemy, and had brought the present of arms and of money to the Achaeans ; and Aratus, similarly, on account of his former intercourse with the king. However, this mission never went after all, as Ptolemy died just at this time. . . .

Ptolemy  
Epiphanes  
poisoned in  
B.C. 181.

7. There was at this time in Sparta a man named Chaeron, who in the previous year had been on an embassy to Rome, a man of ready wit and great ability in affairs, but still young, in a humble position of life, and without the advantages of a liberal education. By flattering the mob, and starting questions which no one else had the assurance to move, he soon acquired a certain notoriety with the people. The first use he made of his power was to confiscate the land granted by the tyrants to the sisters, wives, mothers, and children of the exiles, and to distribute it on his own authority among the poor without any fixed rule or regard to equality. He next squandered the revenue, using the public money as though it were his own, without the authority of law, public decree, or magistrate. Annoyed at these proceedings, certain men managed to get themselves appointed auditors of the treasury in accordance with the laws. Seeing this, and conscious of his mal-administration of the government, Chaeron sent some men to attack Apollonides, the most illustrious of the auditors, and the most able to expose his embezzlements, who stabbed him to death in broad daylight as he was coming from the bath. Upon this being reported to the Achaeans, and the people expressing great indignation at what had been done, the Strategus at once started for Sparta ; and when he arrived there he brought Chaeron to trial for the murder of Apollonides, and having condemned him, threw him into prison. He then incited the remaining auditors to make a real investigation into the public funds, and to see that the relations of the exiles got back the property of which Chaeron had shortly before deprived them. . . .

Chaeron's  
malversations  
at Sparta.

Assassination of  
Apollonides.

8. In Asia king Pharnaces, once more treating the reference to Rome with contempt, sent Leocritus in the course of the winter with ten thousand men to ravage Galatia, while he himself at the begin-

Winter of B.C.  
181-180.

ning of spring collected his forces and invaded Cappadocia. When Eumenes heard of it, he was much enraged at Pharnaces thus breaking through the terms of the agreement to which he was pledged, but was compelled to retaliate by acting in the same way. When he had already collected his forces, Attalus and his brother landed from their voyage from Rome, and the three brothers, after meeting and interchanging views, marched out at once with the army. But on reaching Galatia they found Leocritus no longer there; and when Carsignatus and Gaesotorius, who had before embraced the cause of Pharnaces, sent them a message desiring that their lives might be spared, and promising that they would do anything that might be required of them, they refused the request on the ground of the treachery of which they had been guilty, and advanced with their full force against Pharnaces; and having performed the distance from Calpitus to the river Halys in five days, they reached Parnassus in six more, and being there joined by Ariarathes, the king of the Cappadocians, with his own army, they entered the territory of the Mocissians. Just as they had pitched their camp, news came that the ambassadors from Rome had arrived to effect a pacification. When he heard this, Eumenes sent his brother Attalus to receive them; while he devoted himself to doubling the number of his troops, and improving them to the utmost: partly with a view to prepare them for actual service, and partly to impress the Romans with the belief that he was able to defend himself against Pharnaces, and beat him in war.

9. When the Roman legates arrived and urged the putting an end to the war, Eumenes and Ariarathes professed to be ready to obey; but begged the Romans to bring them, if possible, to an interview with Pharnaces, that they might see fully from what was said in their own presence how faithless and cruel a man Pharnaces was; and, if this proved to be impossible, to take a fair and impartial view of the controversy and

Spring of B.C.  
180.

Eumenes enters  
Cappadocia.

Two Galatian  
chiefs.

Calpitus in  
Galatia (?).  
Parnassus, a  
town on the  
Halys.

Mocissus, N.  
of the Halys.

The Roman  
legates arrive  
and undertake  
to negotiate.

decide it themselves. The legates replied that they would do everything that was in their power and was consistent with honour; but they required the kings to remove their army from the country: for it was inconsistent that, when they were there with proposals for a peace, operations of war should be going on and mutual acts of hostility be committed. Eumenes and his ally yielded to this representation, and immediately marched off in the direction of Galatia. The Roman legates then visited Pharnaces, and first demanded that he should meet Eumenes and Ariarathes in a conference, as that would be the surest way of settling the affair; but when he expressed repugnance to that measure, and absolutely refused to do so, the Romans at once perceived that he plainly thought himself in the wrong, and distrusted his own cause; but, being anxious in any and every way to put an end to the war, they continued to press him until he consented to send plenipotentiaries to the coast, to conclude a peace on such terms as the legates might command. When these plenipotentiaries, the Roman legates, and Eumenes and Ariarathes met, the latter showed themselves ready

The negotiation fails.

to consent to any proposal for the sake of concluding a peace. But the envoys of Pharnaces disputed every point, and did not hold even to what they had once accepted, but continually brought forward some fresh demand, and altered their mind again and again. The Roman legates, therefore, quickly came to the conclusion that they were wasting their labour, as Pharnaces could not be induced to consent to the pacification. The conference accordingly having come to nothing, and the Roman legates having left Pergamum, and the envoys of Pharnaces having gone home, the war went on, Eumenes and his allies proceeding in their preparations for it. Meanwhile, however, the Rhodians earnestly requested Eumenes to help them; and he accordingly set out in great haste to carry on a war against the Lycians. . . .

The Rhodians engaged in putting down a rising of the Lycians. See Bk. 22, ch. 5.

10. This year the Achaean Strategus Hyperbatus brought before the assembly the question of the letter from Rome as to the recall of the Lacedaemonian exiles. Lycortas and his party recom-

B.C. 180.  
Debate in the Achaean assembly

on the Roman despatch. mended that no change should be made, on the ground that "The Romans had only acted as they were bound to do in listening to the petition of men who, on the face of it, were deprived of their rights, so far as that petition seemed reasonable; but when they were convinced that of a petition some points were impossible, and others such as to inflict great disgrace and damage upon their friends, it had never been their custom to insist upon them pre-emptorily, or force their adoption. So in this case also, if it were shown to them that the Achaeans by obeying their letter would be breaking their oaths, their laws, and the provisions engraved on the tablets, the very bonds of our league, they will retract their orders, and will admit that we are right to hesitate and to ask to be excused from carrying out its injunctions." Such was the speech of Lycortas. But Hyperbatus and Callicrates advised submission to the letter, and that they should hold its authority superior to law or tablet or anything else. Such being the division of opinion, the Achaeans voted to send ambassadors to the Senate, to put before it the points contained in the speech of Lycortas. Callicrates of Leontium, Lydiades of Megalopolis, and Aratus of Sicyon were forthwith nominated for this mission, and were despatched with instructions to this effect. But on their arrival at Rome Callicrates went before the Senate, and, so far from addressing it in accordance with his instructions, he on the contrary entered upon an elaborate denunciation of his political opponents; and, not contented with that, he undertook to rebuke the Senate itself.

11. For he said that "The Romans were themselves responsible for the Greeks neglecting their letters and orders instead of obeying them. For in all the democratic states of the day there were two parties,—one recommending obedience to the Roman rescripts, and holding neither law nor tablet nor anything else to be superior to the will of Rome; the other always quoting oaths and tablets, and exhorting the people to be careful about breaking them. Now the latter policy was by far the most popular in Achaia, and the most influential with the

Callicrates, instead of obeying his instructions, denounces his opponents, and persuades the Senate that their interference is necessary.

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